Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 092425
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011
DRAFTED BY S:PSEBASTIAN:GH
APPROVED BY PSEBASTIAN
----------251601Z 109857 /46
O 251515Z APR 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 092425

NODIS
WH FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT SEOUL 3365 ACTION SECSTATE 25 APR 77

QUOTE S E C R E T SEOUL 3365

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PINT KS US
SUBJ: PRESIDENT PARK AND HUMAN RIGHTS

SUMMARY: OVER WEEKEND I MET PRIVATELY WITH FORMER PRIME MINISTER KIM CHONG-P'IL AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO US HAM PYONG-CHUN, BOTH OF WHOM RECENTLY MET AT LENGTH WITH PRESIDENT PARK. DISCUSSIHN AT BOTH MEETINGS FOCUSED ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AND PRESIDENT PARK'S VIEWS. BOTH KIM AND HAM FOUND VERY LITTLE DISPOSITION ON PART PRESIDENT PARK TO
RELEASE KIM DAE JUNG IMMEDIATELY, ALTHOUGH HAM FOUND GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN PARK'S POSIION THAN KIM; BOTH URGED PATIENCE ON OUR PART. I STRESSED TIME FOR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 092425

ACTION WAS IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND KIM AND HAM HAVE AGREED TO MAKE FURTHER EFFORTS SEPARATELY WITH PARK IN VERY NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. FORMER PRIME MINISTER KIM CHONG-P'IL SPENT THREE HOURS WITH PRESIDENT PARK FOLLOWING HIS RETURN FROM LENGTHY OVERSEAS TOUR IN EUROPE, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AS PARK'S SPECIAL ENVOY. KIM FOUND PARK MUCH MORE CONFIDENT
AND IN COMMAND OF SITUATION THAN WHEN HE LEFT SOME EIGHT
WEEKS AGO. PARK WAS CONFIDENT HE COULD HANDLETROOP
WITHDRAWAL RELYING LARGELY ON HIS OWN RESOURCES AND IN
FACT RELISHED BEING ABLE TO GO IT ALONE FREED FROM DEPENDENCE
ON US. FUNDAMENTALLY, PARK WAS IN AN UNCOMPROMISING MOOD,
APPARENTLY EXPRESSING SUFFICIENT BITTERNESS TOWARDS
US AE TO LEAD KIM TO COMPARE PARK'S MOOD TO HIS POSTURE
TOWARD JAPAN AFTER AUGUST 15, 1974 ASSASSINATION OF HIS
WIFE. ALSO INDICATIVE OF HIS MOOD WAS PARK'S SUGGESTION
TO KIM TO "REST UP," RATHER THAN OFFERING KIM NEW ROLE
AS HE HOPED FOR.

2. PARK GAVE LITTLE INDICATION OF BEING WILLING TO
COMPROMISE ON MYONGDONG RELEASE OR OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS
QUESTIONS IN SHORT TERM, REITERATING HIS FEARS THAT
OPPOSITION DISSIDENTS WILL CONSIDER ANY CONCESSION THE
RESULT OF US PRESSURE AND JUST PUSH HARDER WITH POTENTIALLY
SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. KIM SAID HE TRIED TO CONVINCE PARK
THAT KOREA MUST ALSO ADJUST TO VIEWS OF OTHER NATIONS
AND EASE CONTROLS OVER DISSIDENTS. HE THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY,
HOWEVER, THAT PARK IN HIS PRESENT MOOD WOULD COME AROUND IN
SHORT TERM ALTHOUGH HE IS OPTIMISTIC FOR LONGER TERM.
KIM MADE CLEAR THAT HE PERSONALLY FAVORS CONCESSIONS ON
HUMAN RIGHTS AND INCIDENTALLY WAS NOTABLY RELAXED ON
TROOP WITHDRAWAL QUESTION, POINTING OUT THAT PROCESS OF
WITHDRAWING GROUND TROOPS BEGAN IN 1969 AND FURTHER STEPS
SHOULD NOT HAVE COME AS SURPRISE AT PRESENT TIME.

SECRET

SECRET

3. I REVIEWED THOROUGHLY US POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND
STRESSED THAT TIME FOR ACTION BY ROKG WAS IN IMMEDIATE
FUTURE RATHER THAN SOME MONTHS AHEAD. AT KIM'S REQUEST,
I OUTLINED FOR HIM POTENTIAL COSTS TO ROK IN FAILURE TO
ACT IN MOST STARK TERMS, POINTING OUT WE ARE IN COLLISION
COURSE. KIM WAS MUCH IMPRESSED AND ASKED FOR A LITTLE TIME TO
MAKE A FURTHER EFFORT TO CONVINCE PRESIDENT PARK TO MOVE. WE HAVE
AGREED TO MEET AGAIN IN EARLY MAY.

4. AMBASSADOR HAM, ON OTHER HAND, FOUND PRESIDENT PARK
IN MORE FLEXIBLE MOOD WHILE STILL DEFENDING HIS
POSITION. HAM SAID THAT HE EXPLAINED PRESIDENT CARTER'S
POSITION IN VERY STRAIGHTFORWARD, FRANK MANNER, WHICH
HE INCIDENTALLY FELT OTHER KOREANS HAD FAILED TO DO
FULLY. HE STRESSED CURRENT MODERATION IN CARTER'S POSITION,
HIS AVOIDANCE OF PUBLIC ATTACKS ON KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS
POLICY TO GIVE PRESIDENT PARK OPPORTUNITY ACT WITHOUT
US PRESSURE, AND THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF RELEASE OF KIM
DAE JUNG AS PRESIDENT PARK'S LAST ELECTION OPPONENT.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

5. PARK, ACCORDING HAM, SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO RELEASE
KIM DAE JUNG IF LATTER WOULD RESTRICT HIS OPPOSITION
ACTIVITIES AND NOT USE RELEASE AS SPRINGBOARD TO RALLY
OPPOSITION FORCES AND TO STIMULATE STUDENTS TO DEMONSTRATE
OPENLY IN STREETS. IN THIS CONNECTION, CRITICAL FACTOR
IS US ROLE. IF KIM DAE JUNG IS CONVINCED HIS RELEASE
RGSULTS ENTIRELY FROM US PRESSURE, HE WILL THEN FEEL
ENCOURAGED TO CONTINUE UNCOMPROMISING OPPOSITION. PARK WOULD
LIKE SOME SIGNAL FROM US TO DISCOURAGE THIS VIEW ON PART OF KIM,
SUCH AS STATEMENT THAT HIS IMPRISONMENT WAS LEGAL AND CONSTITU-
TIONAL.

6. HAM RECOGNIZED THAT SUCH A STATEMENT BY US WAE IMPOSSIBLE
BUT WISHES TO EXPLORE OTHER MEANS FOR EMPHASIZING RELEASE
OF KIM DAE JUNG ACT OF STRENGTH ON PART PRESIDENT PARK
RATHER THAN CONSEQUENCE SOLELY OF US PRESSURE. HE IS
SECRET

SECRET

CONVINCED THERE IS FLEXIBILITY IN PARK'S POSITION
THAT NEEDS PROBING. AS I DID WITH KIM, I IMPRESSED UPON
HAM NEED FOR EARLY ROKG ACTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE.
HAM PLANS TO SEE PARK IN A WEEK OR SO AND HAS ALSO
AGREED TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO CONVINCE HIM TO ACT
FLEXIBLY AND MAKE NECESSARY CONCESSIONS.

7. COMMENT: REASONS FOR DIFFERING IMPRESSIONS OF PARK
REFLECTED BY KIM AND HAM CAN BE SPECULATED UPON AND MAY ONLY
INDICATE IN PART VARYING TACTICS USED BY PARK TO HANDLE
THESE CONFIDANTS COMING FROM SUCH DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS.
NEVERTHELESS, IT IS CLEAR FROM BOTH CONVERSATIONS THAT
PARK STILL NEEDS TO BE CONVINCED TO TAKE VERY EARLY STEPS
ON MYONGDONG RELEASE. TO ESCALATE PRESSURES ON PARK
FURTHER, I THEREFORE PRESSED BOTH TO MOVE VERY QUICKLY
TOWARDS SECOND EFFORT AT PARK.OF ALL THEMEN CLOSE TO AND
WITH ACCESS TO PARK, KIM AND HAM NOW APPEAR THE TWO MOST
LIKELY TO PUT TO PARK IN STRAIGHTFORWARD FASHION
THE CASE FOR RELEASE OF MYONGDONG PRISONERS. I SHALL HAVE
FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS SHORTLY ON OTHER STEPS.
SNEIFER
UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, HUMAN RIGHTS, CAT-B, PRISONERS RELEASE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 25-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE092425
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PSEBASTIAN:GH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770002-0702
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770422/aaaaasvd.tel
Line Count: 161
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: fa2b969f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2703549
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESIDENT PARK AND HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY: OVER WEEKEND I MET PRIVATELY WITH FORMER PRIME MINISTER KIM CHONG-P\'IL AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO U
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SHUM, KS, US, (HAM PYONG-CHUN), (KIM CHONG-P\'IL), (KIM DAE JUNG), (PARK CHONG-HUI)
To: WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/fa2b969f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009